592 stratification among the Kanuri has been given, but more extend-
565 ed discussion will be reserved for a later point.
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• 351 To this point the compound has been described as an area
392 enclosed by walls, with a single entrance gate. Each compound has as its head an adult married male, referred to as the master of the house (kəmanzə fatobe). The compound is divided into fərək (literally meaning wide or open area) and zəgəsə (narrow area). Each wife has her own zəgəsə, and the master of the house may, in addition, have a house of his own. The open area, or fərək, is the open communal area, and servants, retainers and slaves, with their wives and children, may live there.

592 Since the family as a unit has been described above, and it was also noted that occasionally elderly parents are taken in by their married sons or daughters, other categories of individuals who may be found as part of a household will now be described.

592 Slaves are a part of the household, but since only royalty
567 (ngalwo) or aristocracy possess slaves, most of the population
[565] do not have slaves as a part of their households. Those heads of families who do own slaves normally count their slaves in the hundreds. Few of these become part of the household of their owners. Male slaves are a part of their master's household only if their own families performed duties within the household of their master; most slaves today live on the lands of their former masters, far from the household of their present master. Neither master nor slave, under such circumstances,

[GEIDAM]

366 The Geidam market-place represents one such focus of communal activity. It is an area 186 yards by 150 yards, with rows of permanent stalls made of grass mats, and occasional trees.
443 People are present in the market every day, buying and selling, but these are few in number and are limited largely to sellers of food staples. Wednesday is market day in Geidam, and on that day, thousands of people crowd the paths and the stalls, chatting, bargaining, buying and selling. People come into Geidam from a radius of ten to fifteen miles to attend the Wednesday market; and literally everyone in the town visits the market-place on market day at some point during the day.

361 632 As was mentioned earlier, every Kanuri town is built in a "U" pattern around an open plaza, the dandal. The over-all U-pattern is still apparent in Geidam, but since Geidam is a large town whose growth has been uneven, expansion has destroyed the [604] symmetry of the physical plan of the town. The dandal is still very much in evidence, and at its eastern face is the Ajari, the [351] compound of the District Head (Ajia) of Geidam. The dandal leads directly to the gate, or chinna of his compound, which forms a second important focus of communal activity. Much administrative activity occurs in the cleared area before the chinna of the [527] Ajia's compound. In addition, much ceremonial activity, involving displays of horsemanship by the men serving under the Ajia, [526] takes place before the chinna of his house. Many forms of recre- [535] ation, dancing and wrestling, are also held at the head of the dandal, while multitudes of townspeople gather along the borders of the dandal to watch.

have an adequate home at the time.

634 Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima
351 Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table
592 XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zəgəsə of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

592 The principles of household affiliation have been de-
565 scribed in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual
554 composition of forty-three households is presented. In each
463 row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213]

[GEIDAM]

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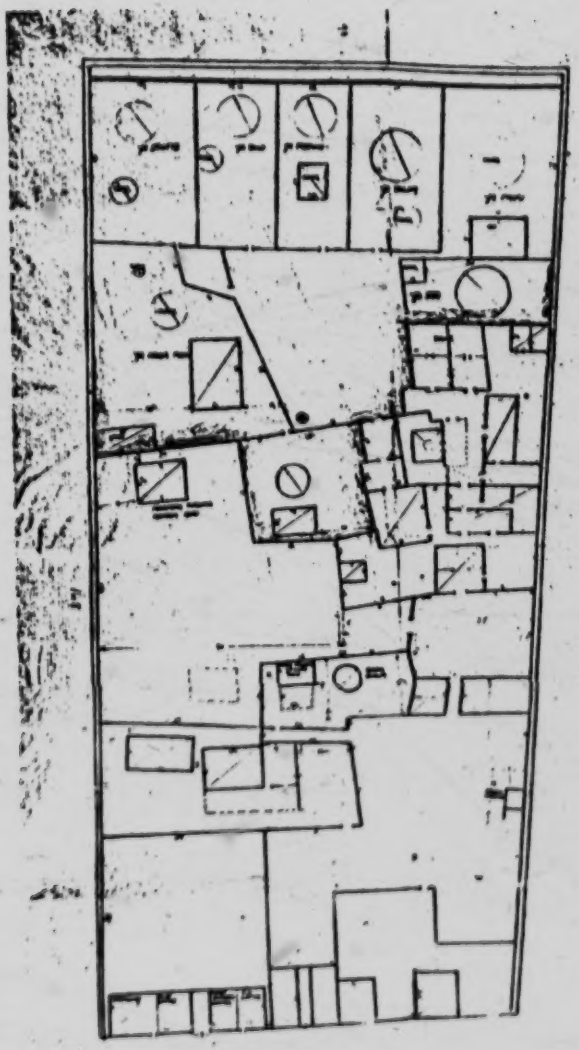

Figure 4 - Diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha.

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on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendhip relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalized recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealized Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

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[602]

Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion that Kanuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal relations in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organization in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Geidam have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

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461 on the gourds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

178 415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 Ka'anami's Compound

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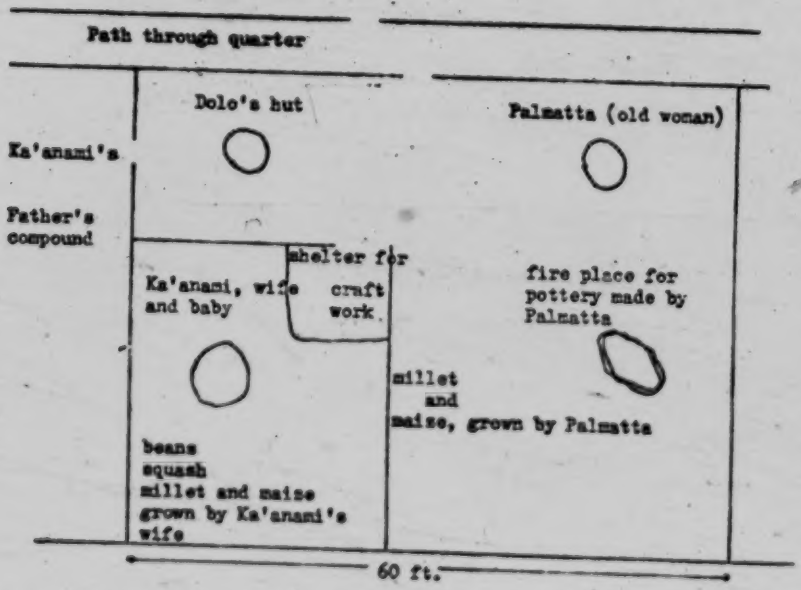

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231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a sarwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]